

104
REGARDING A VISIT BY PRESIDENT LEE TENG-
HUI OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON TAIWAN

Y 4. IN 8/16:T 25

Regarding a Visit by President Lee... **!KUP**

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Con. Res. 53

APRIL 5, 1995

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

92-691 CC

WASHINGTON : 1995

For sale by the U.S. Government Printing Office
Superintendent of Documents, Congressional Sales Office, Washington, DC 20402

ISBN 0-16-047484-1

104
REGARDING A VISIT BY PRESIDENT LEE TENG-
HUI OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON TAIWAN

Y 4. IN 8/16:T 25

Regarding a Visit by President Lee... **10KUP**

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. Con. Res. 53

APRIL 5, 1995

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

92-691 CC

WASHINGTON : 1995

For sale by the U.S. Government Printing Office
Superintendent of Documents, Congressional Sales Office, Washington, DC 20402
ISBN 0-16-047484-1

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, New York, *Chairman*

WILLIAM F. GOODLING, Pennsylvania

JAMES A. LEACH, Iowa

TOBY ROTH, Wisconsin

HENRY J. HYDE, Illinois

DOUG BEREUTER, Nebraska

CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, New Jersey

DAN BURTON, Indiana

JAN MEYERS, Kansas

ELTON GALLEGLY, California

ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, Florida

CASS BALLENGER, North Carolina

DANA ROHRABACHER, California

DONALD A. MANZULLO, Illinois

EDWARD R. ROYCE, California

PETER T. KING, New York

JAY KIM, California

SAM BROWNBACK, Kansas

DAVID FUNDERBURK, North Carolina

STEVEN J. CHABOT, Ohio

MARSHALL "MARK" SANFORD, South
Carolina

MATT SALMON, Arizona

AMO HOUGHTON, New York

LEE H. HAMILTON, Indiana

SAM GEJDENSON, Connecticut

TOM LANTOS, California

ROBERT G. TORRICELLI, New Jersey

HOWARD L. BERMAN, California

GARY L. ACKERMAN, New York

HARRY JOHNSTON, Florida

ELIOT L. ENGEL, New York

ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA, American
Samoa

MATTHEW G. MARTINEZ, California

DONALD M. PAYNE, New Jersey

ROBERT E. ANDREWS, New Jersey

ROBERT MENENDEZ, New Jersey

SHERROD BROWN, Ohio

CYNTHIA A. MCKINNEY, Georgia

ALCEE L. HASTINGS, Florida

ALBERT RUSSELL WYNN, Maryland

MICHAEL R. McNULTY, New York

JAMES P. MORAN, Virginia

VICTOR O. FRAZER, Virgin Islands (Ind.)

RICHARD J. GARON, *Chief of Staff*

MICHAEL H. VAN DUSEN, *Democratic Chief of Staff*

PARKER H. BRENT, *Staff Associate*

CONTENTS

Markup on H. Con. Res. 53	Page 1
---------------------------------	-----------

APPENDIX

H. Con. Res. 53, reprint of	17
Amendment in the nature of a substitute to H. Con. Res. 53 offered by Mr. Bereuter	20
Hon. Edward R. Royce, prepared statement	22

MARKUP OF H. CON. RES. 53 REGARDING A VISIT BY PRESIDENT LEE TENG-HUI OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON TAIWAN

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5, 1995

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:20 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Benjamin A. Gilman (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman GILMAN. The committee now meets in open session to consider H. Con. Res. 53 relating to the sense of Congress if President Lee of the Republic of China on Taiwan should be allowed to enter the United States on a private visit.

H. Con. Res. 53 was reported by the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific earlier this morning with an amendment.

It is introduced by our colleague, Mr. Lantos, the gentleman from California, and cosponsored by several of the members of this committee.

I will ask our Chief of Staff to read the resolution as amended. We will then proceed to discuss it.

Mr. KIRK. "Whereas United States diplomatic and economic security interests in East Asia have caused the United States—"

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the resolution be considered as read, open for amendment at any point, and printed in the record.

Chairman GILMAN. Without objection, the concurrent resolution and its preamble are considered as having been read and open to amendment at any time point.

[H. Con. Res. 53 appears in the appendix.]

Chairman GILMAN. I would recognize Chairman Bereuter for 5 minutes to explain the resolution.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The resolution expresses the sense of Congress that the United States should grant a visa to Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan for a private visit to the United States to receive an honorary degree from his alma mater, Cornell University.

On February 9, 1995, at the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific's hearing on American Foreign Policy in Asia, there was an overwhelming expression of bipartisan sentiment that the United States should grant a visa to President Lee for such a visit.

In a February 14 letter to Secretary Christopher, cosigned by the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, Mr.

Berman and myself, we expressed the view that the issuance of the visitor visa to President Lee is not inconsistent with the U.S. "One China" policy limiting official contact with Taiwan.

Moreover, the chairman of this subcommittee believes that issuance of the visa is only fitting considering our close economic ties with Taiwan and the democratic ties made by President Lee's government.

The United States pioneered, through the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, the establishment of the American Institute in Taiwan and the successful maintenance of unofficial ties with Taiwan.

Even as we shifted our official recognition in 1979 from Taipei to Beijing, we made it clear to the Chinese that the United States would maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial ties with Taiwan.

Moreover, as mandated by the Taiwan Relations Act, the United States provided defense materials and training to Taiwan to enable it to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability.

Why, then, can the President of Taiwan not make a private visit to the United States? The State Department's response is that, and I quote:

A visit by a person of President Lee's title is symbolic and important, whether or not the visit were termed private, would unavoidably be seen by the People's Republic of China as removing the essential element of unofficiality in the U.S.-Taiwan relationship.

That may be the case on their part, their perception. But this need not and should not limit what Congress wishes to see happen on this matter. The State Department is obviously correct that we have major interests in dealing with Beijing. In several of my statements as chairman of the subcommittee, this member has stressed his view that we should not isolate or dehumanize the People's Republic of China.

But, at the same time, we cannot let Beijing dictate to us who can or cannot make a private visit to his alma mater in the United States.

The State Department seems to have neglected to ask one key question when making this decision: policy, if it is to be sustainable with the American people and the Congress, must meet the common sense test.

In this member's view, refusing to grant a visitor's visa to the President of a thriving democratic friend of the United States simply does not make sense. He wants to be here to receive an honorary degree from his alma mater.

It simply does not make sense to deny him that opportunity. I will vote for the resolution after one technical amendment that was added by the subcommittee as explained. And I would simply say that it is a technical correction recognizing the fact that, indeed, there were democratic republics briefly during the periods of the 19th century. So, we simply refer to President Lee by his name. And that is the only technical change, Mr. Chairman.

I thank the committee for considering it so rapidly.

Chairman GILMAN. I thank the distinguished chairman of the Subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific for his explanation. As he has indicated, H. Con. Res. 53 expresses a sense of Congress regarding a private visit by President Lee Teng-hui of the Republic

of China on Taiwan to the United States. It is an important resolution, one that I am pleased to support.

The intent of this legislation is to send a clear and unambiguous signal to the administration where the Congress stands on this issue.

As my colleagues may know, the Senate Foreign Relation Committee has reported out a nearly identical measure which may be considered on the Senate floor this week.

It is our intention to take the bill to the House floor. Might I add that if the administration continues to stonewall on the issue—and I might point out that the visa is for the President to receive an honorary degree from his alma mater, Cornell University, which happens to be in New York State—then I am prepared to move binding legislation, which I understand will be introduced today through this committee and to the floor.

I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Indiana, our ranking minority member, Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. HAMILTON. Thank you, very much, Mr. Chairman.

And let me commend you, the subcommittee chairman, Mr. Be-reuter, and my colleague Mr. Lantos for sponsoring this resolution and bringing it to our attention.

It is my intention to vote for the resolution. I do want to point out, however, that it raises the complex issue of U.S. relations with China and also Taiwan.

Now on the merits, I think a private visit by President Lee to his alma mater should not be a problem. He has helped bring democracy to Taiwan, and he is a very fine example of what educational exchanges can accomplish.

I think it is also clear that strong bipartisan support for this resolution is present.

The problem—and I think we all ought to recognize this—is the potential implications of a Lee visit for the United States' relationship with China. We simply cannot ignore that. For decades, we have had good relations with both Taiwan and China and we have done that, to be blunt about it, by maintaining an ambiguity about Taiwan's political status.

The Chinese Government has a very firm position that Taiwan is part of China. It rejects the idea that Taiwan is a sovereign entity.

And China, rightly or wrongly, believes that President Lee is working to create a Taiwan independent from China and that he is doing so by making trips to places like the United States.

China believes that any visit by President Lee to this country would, by definition, no matter how we phrase it, be political, whether the visit is called private or not.

Now, I disagree with how the Chinese view President Lee's visit, but I can understand why they take the view that they do.

We have stated in our policy that there is one China whose government is the PRC Government in Beijing. We have acknowledged the Chinese position that there is one China, and Taiwan is part of China.

For six administrations now, the United States has sought to develop relations with China and maintain strong substantive ties with Taiwan. We have helped Taiwan, for example, buildup a

strong defense. And as Taiwan has taken on a greater role in world affairs, the United States has adjusted in the ways that it deals with Taiwan. U.S. Cabinet level officials, for example, in economic areas, have visited Taiwan.

The point is that the United States has very important interests with China, and we simply cannot ignore China's reaction on the Taiwan issue.

Right now, for example, we are engaged in a tremendously delicate negotiation with North Korea. The hang-up is on the kind of nuclear reactor that is provided. The reports are—and I believe them to be accurate—that China is urging North Korea to accept a South Korean model reactor. And if that happens, that diffuses this critically important crisis.

We need that kind of help. And so we have to look at the resolution before us today with a lot of sensitivity. We certainly have an interest in peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait.

So, Mr. Chairman, I support this resolution. I hope we can summon the creativity to manage this situation so that we both express our historic friendship with Taiwan and, at the same time, preserve our interests.

This visit should be truly nonpolitical in the way that it is conducted. We should make very clear to Beijing that this short visit by President Lee in no way changes the U.S. view of Taiwanese status. And I think it is clear to all of us that some confidence-building measures between Taiwan and China will be necessary so that neither side overreacts to the actions of the other.

And I thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Hamilton.

I am pleased to recognize the sponsor of the measure, the gentleman from California, Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, very much, Mr. Chairman. And let me first indicate the facts in this case, then indicate the principle involved, and then indicate why I feel strongly and passionately about this resolution.

In 1968 a young Taiwanese scholar received his Ph.D. in agricultural economics from one of our distinguished universities, Cornell University.

The following year, in 1969, the American Association for Agricultural Economics recognized his Ph.D. dissertation as one of the most outstanding ones in the country. And this summer, his alma mater, Cornell, has invited him to receive an honorary doctorate from Cornell University for his achievements as President of the Republic of China on Taiwan in bringing democracy to that country.

Now, I find it repugnant that any American administration—and this has been the policy of the Reagan administration and the Bush administration, and regrettably it continues to be the policy of this administration. I find it repugnant and unacceptable to an alumnus of a distinguished American university, who has been working hard to make his country more open, free, and democratic—and successfully so—should be denied the privilege of visiting the campus of his own alma mater to receive an honorary doctorate in recognition of his achievements.

It would be easy to argue this case on an economic case. Taiwan buys twice as much from the United States as do the 1.2 billion Chinese on the mainland. It is our sixth most important trading partner. But that is not my argument, Mr. Chairman. If Taiwan was not to buy 1 cent worth of American products, I would feel just as strongly about the principle.

I also find it appalling and inconsistent that Mr. Gerry Adams, whose visit to the United States I strongly supported and whose visit was objected to by the United Kingdom, should have been received in the White House, as I believe he should have been, while the White House objects to having President Lee receive an honorary doctorate on the campus at Cornell.

What is at stake here, Mr. Chairman, is a fundamental principle. We often debate policies in this committee, and there are many sides to policies and we can argue in many ways.

But this is a fundamental principle. A Ph.D. of a distinguished American university who has been devoting his lifetime to making his country more democratic, more respectful of human rights, more open, is now being honored by his alma mater; and the administration attempts to tell him he cannot come to the United States to receive an honorary doctorate.

I believe that policy is unacceptable. I think it is repugnant, I think it is unprincipled. And I strongly urge my colleagues to support my resolution so President Lee might travel to Cornell and receive a well-deserved honorary doctorate.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

I am pleased to recognize the gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

First, I want to thank Mr. Lantos for his leadership on this very, very important resolution, a bipartisan resolution. I think it states very clearly where this House will come down on this issue; and thankfully it will also be voted on on the Senate side.

Mr. Chairman, the question posed by this resolution is simple: Should we insult a faithful and freedom loving ally in order to curry favor with a totalitarian dictatorship?

Unfortunately this question has been asked and answered many, many times over the last two decades.

Most of the time our Government has gotten the answer wrong. First the American people were told that recognition of the Beijing government and the severance of our diplomatic relations with Taipei was not a question of values but of strategic necessity. Yet, within a few years, our new "friends" in Beijing had largely repaired their rift with Moscow.

The PRC intensified their support for the ultimately successful effort to overthrow the anti-Communist governments in South Vietnam and Laos. And they became the principal sponsor of the murderous Pol Pot regime in Cambodia.

Then we were told that if we would just be tolerant for a few years longer, expanded trade relations with the West would surely create an irresistible demand among the Chinese people for freedom and democracy.

Once again our experts had guessed wrong. The Chinese people did demand their freedom, and the Communist government did resist. This resistance took the form of brutal murders. Remember Tiananmen Square, the use of torture, and the increase in the use of forced abortion and mass imprisonment of political dissidents.

Now we are told that our mistake was in asking too much, too soon. Too much emphasis on human rights offended their sensibilities, we were told.

So the new strategy is the same as the old one: Just be patient with the old darlings and send more money; sooner or later they will die.

Whether the new dictator emerges, we will read, Mr. Chairman, fawning profiles suggesting that he must be a secret democrat because he listens to jazz.

The strategy then will be to give him time, less human rights talk, more patience, and more money and more trade. And after the next blood bath, quite possibly in 1997, when the freedom loving people of Hong Kong are turned over to Beijing, does anybody believe that the experts will change their assessment?

Mr. Chairman, the trimming and the rationalizing has already begun.

Even now we are told that we must not object to the forcible repatriation of thousands of Vietnamese boat people who are locked up in detention camps in Hong Kong because Beijing has demanded that this be done before 1997.

One of the arguments is that no matter what happens to these refugees, when they return to Vietnam, it will surely be harder on them if they fall into the hands of Beijing.

While our attention has been thus diverted, important things have been happening in the Republic of China on Taiwan. With each passing year this society has become more productive, more democratic, and more free.

Remarkably, the people in the government have retained their friendly feelings toward the United States despite two decades of the cold shoulder.

Now the President of the Republic of China on Taiwan has been invited for a legitimate, private visit by a respected university. Incredibly, it seems possible that he will not be allowed to enter the United States. This from the same administration which, in the name of peace and understanding, has invited prominent leaders and/or supporters of such organizations as the PLO and the IRA to visit the United States.

Mr. Chairman, I do not question those decisions. They were taken in the interest of freedom of travel and of peace and of understanding. I ask only that we make the same decision in the case of President Lee, a loyal and long-suffering friend of the United States.

And again I want to thank Mr. Lantos and Mr. Bereuter for their great leadership on this issue.

Chairman GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

I would just like to caution our members that there will be a vote on this measure, so I urge you to please stay until we do arrive at a vote.

The gentleman from California, Mr. Berman.

Mr. BERMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As the chairman of the subcommittee mentioned, this resolution passed by a bipartisan roll call vote. I think it is a clear message to the administration that, on this particular issue, there is an overwhelming sentiment for a change in policy.

I think the comments of our ranking member of the full committee in terms of implication are quite appropriate for us to consider; although, having considered them, I think that in this case, the right decision is also the smart decision.

This does not occur in a vacuum. The administration has already done a number of things that no previous administration has done in this area. They have authorized high-level visits by U.S. Cabinet officials to Taipei. We have changed, through statutes, signed by the President, the law that allows U.S. passports to allow Taiwan to be listed as a place of birth. The State Department has announced its intention to encourage Taiwanese participation in U.N. organizations. We have recognized and accepted the change in the office representing Taiwan to the Taiwan Cultural and Representation Office in the United States from the old Coordinating Counsel for North American Affairs.

There is nothing in the Taiwan's Relation Act or in the joint communiques that excludes Taiwanese political leaders from visiting the United States.

Allowing President Lee to visit preserves our informal relationship with Taiwan while recognizing the increasing importance of American ties to Taiwan.

When you add that all up and then you look at what has happened in Taiwan, the nature of this private visit, the goals of the administration and of, I think, the government, to promote democratic reforms, regards for human rights, acceptance of pluralistic values, I think it is an insult not to give the President the ability to visit his alma mater on this private visit.

And I think the Chinese will have to decide what position they will take just as they did on all these other administration actions.

But my own personal belief is that they will decide what they perceive is in their interest, and that would have occurred without regard to what we did here. We should go ahead and take the right position. I congratulate my colleague from California for offering the resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

The gentleman from California, Mr. Royce.

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am happy to join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in full support of the measure before us to allow President Lee to visit his alma mater, Cornell, to receive an honorary degree.

There is something terribly wrong when a Communist-run regime in Beijing can send its representatives here to negotiate on trade and the head of a democratically elected government, that is a model of free market democracy in Asia cannot visit even as a private citizen.

I am especially appalled at this logic on behalf of a Clinton administration which proclaims itself to be in avid pursuit of an enlarged community of market democracies and in pursuit of worldwide human rights.

Mr. Chairman, I sat here for 3 hours on Monday to listen to the testimony of three victims of the notorious Chinese prison system called LAOGAI, wherein millions have been, and continue to be, subjected to torture, to forced labor, and unspeakable degradation of their human rights, not for civil crimes but for what the Communists view as "political crimes," crimes of conscience.

And these witnesses, which included a 96-year-old Catholic priest, a nun, and a Tibetan monk, had, between them, served over a century in this system. They had with them some of the torture devices used on them, and the clothes of their very own parents who had perished in the system before them.

Their stories are a profound and deeply shocking reminder of the power of evil that resides in the totalitarian state and is the great scourge of our century. And I find it simply indefensible that such a regime be allowed to dictate our visa policy, or any other policy for that matter.

I would say to any who rationalize and proselytize about trade and "future considerations"—and all the arguments so familiar to the advocates of appeasement—I would say to them: listen to the victims of the Chinese prison systems, to the people tortured for being Christians and then forced to make Christmas tree ornaments for export under some agreement with Mickey Kantor, and tell me how a policy of appeasement, like preventing this trip by President Lee, encourages democracy and human rights in China.

You know, I am reminded of the case, a little over a decade ago, of a Chinese tennis star, a young girl—I think her name was Hu Na—who defected on tour here. And, of course, the State Department "mandarins" all went into a tizzy and insisted that she must be returned.

I remember a reporter asked President Reagan about her case, and he said he would sooner adopt her than force her back. Of course, the President was reminded that the State Department said she had to go back, by the reporter. And he said, "Well, they just don't get it."

Mr. Chairman, they still just do not get it. And I will sit here and vote, and join you in voting, for every resolution and measure that comes before us, to send the message to the White House and to the State Department and to the Communist Chinese, that we in this Congress do not turn a blind eye to the depredations of the PRC regime and that we stand squarely and proudly for the democratic government in Taipei and in solidarity with the victims of torture in the PRC.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

The delegate from the American Samoa, Mr. Faleomavaega.

Mr. FALEOMAVEGA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As I have stated earlier, I too, would like to associate myself with the comments that the gentleman from California made earlier, Mr. Lantos. I commend him for his eloquence and candor, and for the initiative and the leadership that he has taken to bring this resolution before the members of the committee.

Mr. Chairman, just because the policy that is currently applied by this administration has been the case for the past six administrations does not necessarily make it the right policy.

I think the current policy is not only absurd, it is ludicrous; and I would hope that the administration will take seriously the sentiments expressed by both Houses of the Congress.

Mr. Chairman, 20 million citizens of the Republic of China on Taiwan live freely in a democracy. They have freely elected leaders and one of the world's leading economies. Out of some 500,000 foreign students currently attending American universities and colleges, 40,000 of those students come from Taiwan.

As a byproduct of that, over the years I would suggest that many of the leaders of the Republic of China have received their formal education from among our universities and colleges. President Lee is a byproduct of that educational policy, receiving his doctorate in agronomy at Cornell University.

Mr. Chairman, I submit that President Lee is very much aware of the implications of the problems attending the One China Policy. President Lee is very pragmatic.

What is ironic, Mr. Chairman, is that currently, Taiwan and the People's Republic of China have an unofficial trade relationship that numbers over \$11 billion. And currently, hundreds of thousands of citizens of Taiwan freely visit the People's Republic of China.

So I submit, Mr. Chairman, although we can urge China to resolve her problems with Taiwan, we have to respect China's sovereign right to do what it wishes to do.

However, Mr. Chairman, we should not be subservient. Just because China says something, we should not jump at it. I think we ought to express with due awareness the seriousness of the problems of the world; but at the same time, let us not neglect our friends in Taiwan, friends who really have been with us from the beginning. I think we ought to pass this resolution, hopefully by acclamation, with all the members of the committee supporting this.

And, again, Mr. Chairman, thank you. And thank you, Mr. Lantos, for bringing this resolution to the fore.

Chairman GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

The gentlelady from Kansas, Mrs. Meyers.

Mrs. MEYERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My constituents have spoken to me about this issue. It is extremely important to the American Taiwanese. It offends them that the President cannot visit this country. They were incensed when previous requests have been refused.

Taiwan is a friend and a major trading partner. And I cannot conceive why we would allow China to dictate our policies about whether the President of Taiwan should visit or not.

I strongly support the resolution, and I thank Mr. Bereuter and Mr. Lantos for their work in bringing it to this committee.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman from California, Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to salute Mr. Lantos and Mr. Bereuter for the leadership they have provided. Mr. Lantos and I find ourselves on the same side of many questions concerning human rights. And this is one of those issues, because this is a human rights measure, because this measure is highly symbolic and should be seen as symbolic. Granting President Lee a visa is symbolic of our recognition

of the truly admirable democratic reform that is evident in the Republic of China.

The Republic of China, has, by all practical purposes, joined the family of free and democratic nations; and the Congress of the United States today is taking a step toward recognizing that.

The status should be recognized. It should be recognized officially as well as symbolically. Although, today, we have a symbolic action.

Our action is also symbolic of our recognition of the continuing tyranny on the mainland of China. Our actions should be taken as symbolic of our opposition to the Communist Chinese bullying and muscle-flexing over the Sprattly Islands.

Also, it should be seen as our opposition to Beijing's arming and supporting of a vicious dictatorship in Burma which suppresses the democratic aspirations of the Burmese people, the repression in Tibet, and the continuing repression of the Chinese people themselves on the mainland of China.

Taiwan has democratized in recent years. Leaders who lead democratization movements should be the friend of the United States.

That is what we are saying today.

But Taiwan, with its new democratization, not only has given freedom to its people and recognized the freedom of its people, but it has opened its markets to the trade with the people of the United States.

In fact, I believe the people of Taiwan and the Government of Taiwan are treating us in a much fairer degree in terms of trade than do the Communists on the mainland.

So today, I join with my colleagues in asserting that we recognize, symbolically, the great things that have been going on in Taiwan, we tip our hats to a democratic leader, President Lee, and wish him and the people of the Republic of China on Taiwan the best.

And thanks very much for giving me—Mr. Lantos, for giving me this opportunity for this expression.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank the gentleman for his remarks.

The gentleman from New York, Mr. Ackerman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Let me first thank and join with so many others in saluting our colleague Tom Lantos of California for his dynamic and consistent leadership on this issue. He certainly has taken an issue that has rested too long and brought it to the forefront of the members of this committee and has done it in a dynamic and eloquent way, which we all appreciate greatly.

American foreign policy is sometimes wrong, as we are all aware. There has been a great miscarriage of justice. There has also been a lot of progress. There is also a time that, once in a while, comes to reexamine some of the things that we have been doing. And I believe that that time has come with regard to this specific issue.

The Republic of China on Taiwan has been an absolute example, maybe not perfect, but as close as we can get, as the kind of democratization process that we have been encouraging and hoping for in so many other places in the world.

Everything that we as a free people could wish of another people is coming to pass on Taiwan. Their open market economy, their

free press, their free elections, their yearning to have every single democratic institution that any other free nation has ever had is certainly a good example that public policy and international public encouragement can work.

Why, then, do we not encourage the kind of activity and action and accomplishment that has occurred on Taiwan?

And I believe the ranking member has put his finger on it exactly, and that is because of our concern with mainland China.

I contend, Mr. Chairman, that the question is: Why should we offend the sensitivity of those who offend our sense of civility?

That is really what is going on here. We should not be dictated to by a nation that still has the remnants of tyrannical rule to tell us who we may or may not invite to our shores.

I thank Mr. Lantos for bringing this matter up, Mr. Chairman. And I thank you for scheduling this very timely markup.

Chairman GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for his remarks.

The gentleman from California, Mr. Kim.

Mr. KIM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would just like to say that I highly commend Mr. Lantos' leadership on this matter and also subcommittee chairman, Mr. Bereuter.

Thank you.

Chairman GILMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Torricelli.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Lantos has received so much praise, but I will only add to it. It is a statement of the kind of work that he has done before this committee. And this is an appropriate statement and legislation.

Mr. Chairman, the decision to allow the elected leadership of Taiwan access to the United States was made when Taiwan decided to have free elections, a free press, and a pluralistic political system. This is not simply an issue for the people in Taiwan. As a matter of policy, the United States should never exclude the elected and legitimate leader of any nation who seeks to come to our country.

The views of nations with whom we have relations, those nations that play a disproportionate role in world affairs, should always be heard by our Government.

They can, however, never be controlling upon our Government. The government in Beijing has received all due deference. But in the final analysis, it is the policy of the U.S. Government to allow all freely elected governments to come to this country and be heard. The people of the United States do not need to be protected from the views of freely elected people.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I want to add that it would be an extraordinary statement if after receiving in the last decade a range of leaders from Roberto Daubison, leader of the death squads of Salvador, Deng Xiaoping, leader of the world's largest totalitarian government, that any freely elected official would be denied access to our country.

I hope that this resolution succeeds in convincing the administration of the strength of our bipartisan views.

But I would remind the administration, if they do not, after considerable negotiations, Mr. Solomon and I, with the support of the chairman of this committee, Mr. Gilman, now have a common amendment to amend the Taiwan Relations Act, as a matter of law, to allow access for visas to the United States. If discretion is not used properly by the administration, discretion will be lost by the administration. We will proceed with our amendment and change the law.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank the gentleman for his remarks.

The gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do not want to be redundant. There has been a number of comments made that we all agree with. I do want to thank Mr. Lantos and Chairman Bereuter for their hard work on this.

Let me just say that since 1979, when the normalization communique was passed or sent to the Governments of China and the Republic of China on Taiwan, each administration has supported the position that this government took in 1979.

While I like to blame the Democrats for problems that originated a long time ago, the fact of the matter is, in Republican and Democratic administrations we have continued the policy that we have today; and it is a bad policy. It is a policy that should be changed.

Not only should President Lee be allowed to visit Cornell—and I might add that I would feel a lot better if he had graduated from a Big 10 school like Indiana University—but, nevertheless, not only should he be allowed to visit Cornell for this honorary degree, he should also be extended an invitation to meet with our President. He should also be advised that we want to put an embassy in Taipei, and that we want to normalize relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan just like we have with Red China.

There is a repressive government on mainland China. It has been there for a long time. We all remember Tiananmen Square. We have a democracy in Taipei and Taiwan. These are good friends. They have been friends through thick and thin, ever since Chiang Kai-Shek. And it seems to me a terrible tragedy for us not to show the friendship that they have shown us over the years.

And so I join with the chairman of the subcommittee, the chairman of the full committee, and Mr. Lantos in urging the administration to accept this resolution and allow Mr. Lee to visit his alma mater.

Chairman GILMAN. I thank the gentleman for his comments.

The gentleman from New York, Mr. King.

Mr. KING. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I will just take a moment. But I want to also join in commending Mr. Lantos and Mr. Bereuter for their leadership.

And I want to emphasize the point that as important as this is for the people of Taiwan and the Government of Taiwan, it is equally important for the people of the United States that they be allowed to see leaders from other countries, to meet leaders from other countries, and that we not allow our Government to practice a foreign policy of visa denial.

A free society demands that all leaders be allowed to enter this country.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Thank the gentleman for his comments.

Are there any amendments to the measure before us?

Without objection, I clarify that the resolution before us is the resolution reported by the subcommittee as amended, although our notice did not specify that we take up an amended resolution.

The chairman notes that a quorum of the committee is present and will entertain a motion to report the concurrent resolution to the full House.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the resolution.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Lantos moves the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. Lantos, would you withhold your resolution for a moment?

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee report H. Con. Res. 53 to the full House with the recommendation that the resolution, as amended, do pass and that the chairman may be authorized to take any steps required to bring the resolution before the House.

Chairman GILMAN. The question is now on the motion.

So many as are in favor, say aye.

Opposed, no.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. I ask for a roll call vote.

Chairman GILMAN. A roll call has been requested.

A roll call is ordered. Please indicate how you wish to vote by indicating aye or nay.

The CLERK. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Goodling.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Leach.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Roth.

Mr. ROTH. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Hyde.

Mr. HYDE. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Bereuter.

Mr. BEREUTER. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON. Aye.

The CLERK. Mrs. Meyers.

Mrs. MEYERS. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Gallegly.

Mr. GALLEGLY. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Ballenger.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACKER. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Manzullo.
 [No response.]
 The CLERK. Mr. Royce.
 Mr. ROYCE. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. King.
 Mr. KING. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Kim.
 Mr. KIM. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Brownback.
 Mr. BROWNBAC. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Funderburk.
 [No response.]
 The CLERK. Mr. Chabot.
 Mr. CHABOT. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Sanford.
 Mr. SANFORD. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Salmon.
 Mr. SALMON. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Houghton.
 Mr. HOUGHTON. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Hamilton.
 [No response.]
 The CLERK. Mr. Gejdenson.
 [No response.]
 The CLERK. Mr. Lantos.
 Mr. LANTOS. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Torricelli.
 Mr. TORRICELLI. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Berman.
 [No response.]
 The CLERK. Mr. Ackerman.
 Mr. ACKERMAN. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Johnston.
 Mr. JOHNSTON. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Engel.
 [No response.]
 The CLERK. Mr. Faleomavaega.
 Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Martinez.
 Mr. MARTINEZ. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Payne.
 Mr. PAYNE. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Andrews.
 [No response.]
 The CLERK. Mr. Menendez.
 Mr. MENENDEZ. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Brown.
 Mr. BROWN. Aye.
 The CLERK. Ms. McKinney.
 [No response.]
 The CLERK. Mr. Hastings.
 Mr. HASTINGS. Aye.
 The CLERK. Mr. Wynn.

Mr. WYNN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. McNulty.

Mr. McNULTY. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Moran.

Mr. MORAN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Frazer.

Mr. FRAZER. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Goodling.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Leach.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Ballenger.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Manzullo.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Funderburk.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Hamilton.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Gejdenson.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Berman.

Mr. BERMAN. Aye.

The CLERK. Mr. Engel.

[No response.]

The CLERK. Mr. Andrews.

Mr. ANDREWS. Aye.

The CLERK. Ms. McKinney.

[No response.]

Chairman GILMAN. The clerk will report the vote.

Will the Chief of Staff report the vote?

The CLERK. On this vote, the ayes are 33, the nays 0.

Chairman GILMAN. The committee stands in——

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to.

Without objection, the motion to reconsider is laid upon the table.

I thank our colleagues. The committee——

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. Yes, Mr. Wynn.

Mr. WYNN. Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to inquire as to approximately what time we would have a markup, if it is still scheduled for today?

Chairman GILMAN. We will continue with the panelists that are before us. There is no further markup after this meeting.

Mr. WYNN. No further markup?

Chairman GILMAN. We do have a panel that will proceed after the vote, and we have a panel for this afternoon on the reform of foreign aid.

Mr. WYNN. But no further markup?

Chairman GILMAN. No. No vote.

Mr. WYNN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman GILMAN. The committee stands in recess.

[Whereupon, at 11:07 a.m., the committee adjourned.]

APPENDIX

IV

104TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. CON. RES. 53

Expressing the sense of the Congress regarding a private visit by President Lee Teng-hui of the Republic of China on Taiwan to the United States.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 29, 1995

Mr. LANTOS (for himself, Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. TORRICELLI, and Mr. ACKERMAN) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Congress regarding a private visit by President Lee Teng-hui of the Republic of China on Taiwan to the United States.

Whereas United States diplomatic and economic security interests in East Asia have caused the United States to maintain a policy of recognizing the People's Republic of China while maintaining solidarity with the democratic aspirations of the people of Taiwan;

Whereas the Republic of China on Taiwan (known as Taiwan) is the United States sixth largest trading partner and an economic powerhouse buying more than twice as much annually from the United States as do the 1,200,000,000 Chinese of the People's Republic of China;

Whereas the American people are eager for expanded trade opportunities with Taiwan, the possessor of the world's second largest foreign exchange reserves;

Whereas the United States interests are served by supporting democracy and human rights abroad;

Whereas Taiwan is a model emerging democracy, with a free press, free elections, stable democratic institutions, and human rights protections;

Whereas vigorously contested elections conducted on Taiwan in December 1994 were extraordinarily free and fair;

Whereas United States interests are best served by policies that treat Taiwan's leaders with respect and dignity;

Whereas President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan, a Ph.D. graduate of Cornell University, has been invited to pay a private visit to his alma mater and to attend the annual USA-ROC Economic Council Conference in Anchorage, Alaska;

Whereas there is no legitimate policy grounds for excluding the democratic leader of Asia's oldest republic from paying private visits;

Whereas the Senate of the United States voted several times in 1994 to welcome President Lee to visit the United States; and

Whereas Public Law 103-416 provides that the President of Taiwan shall be welcome in the United States at any time to discuss a host of important bilateral issues: Now, therefore, be it

- 1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
- 2 *concurring)*, That it is the sense of the Congress that the
- 3 President should promptly indicate that the United States

1 will welcome a private visit by President Lee Teng-hui to
2 his alma mater, Cornell University, and will welcome a
3 transit stop by President Lee in Anchorage, Alaska, to at-
4 tend the USA-ROC Economic Council Conference.

5 SEC. 2. The Clerk of the House of Representatives
6 shall transmit a copy of this concurrent resolution to the
7 President.



AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE
TO H. CON. RES. 53
OFFERED BY MR. BEREUTER

Strike the preamble and text of the resolution and
insert the following:

Whereas United States diplomatic and economic security interests in East Asia have caused the United States to maintain a policy of recognizing the People's Republic of China while maintaining solidarity with the democratic aspirations of the people of Taiwan;

Whereas the Republic of China on Taiwan (known as Taiwan) is the United States sixth largest trading partner and an economic powerhouse buying more than twice as much annually from the United States as do the 1,200,000,000 Chinese of the People's Republic of China;

Whereas the American people are eager for expanded trade opportunities with Taiwan, the possessor of the world's second largest foreign exchange reserves;

Whereas the United States interests are served by supporting democracy and human rights abroad;

Whereas Taiwan is a model emerging democracy, with a free press, free elections, stable democratic institutions, and human rights protections;

Whereas vigorously contested elections conducted on Taiwan in December 1994 were extraordinarily free and fair;

Whereas United States interests are best served by policies that treat Taiwan's leaders with respect and dignity;

Whereas President Lee Teng-hui of Taiwan, a Ph.D. graduate of Cornell University, has been invited to pay a private visit to his alma mater and to attend the annual USA-ROC Economic Council Conference in Anchorage, Alaska;

Whereas there are no legitimate grounds for excluding President Lee Teng-hui from paying private visits;

Whereas the Senate of the United States voted several times in 1994 to welcome President Lee to visit the United States; and

Whereas Public Law 103-416 provides that the President of Taiwan shall be welcome in the United States at any time to discuss a host of important bilateral issues: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*, That it is the sense of the Congress that the
3 President should promptly indicate that the United States
4 will welcome a private visit by President Lee Teng-hui to
5 his alma mater, Cornell University, and will welcome a
6 transit stop by President Lee in Anchorage, Alaska, to at-
7 tend the USA-ROC Economic Council Conference.

8 SEC. 2. The Clerk of the House of Representatives
9 shall transmit a copy of this concurrent resolution to the
10 President.

Statement by Congressman Edward R. Royce on H.Con.Res 53

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

I am most happy to join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle in full support of the measure before us to allow President Lee to visit his alma mater, Cornell, to receive an honorary degree.

There is something terribly wrong when a Communist-run regime in Beijing can send its representatives here to negotiate on trade and the head of a democratically elected government that is a model of free-market democracy in Asia can not visit, even as a private citizen.

I am especially appalled at this logic on behalf of a Clinton Administration which proclaims itself to be in avid pursuit of an "enlarged community" of market democracies and in pursuit of worldwide human rights.

Mr. Chairman, I sat for three hours on Monday to listen to the testimony of three victims of the notorious Chinese prison system called Logai, wherein millions have been killed, and continue to be, subjected to torture, forced labor and unspeakable degradation of their human rights -- not for civil crimes -- but for what the Communists view as "political crimes," crimes of conscience.

These witnesses, which included a 96 year-old Catholic priest, a nun, and a Tibetan monk, had between them served over a century in this system. They had with them some of the torture devices used on them, and the clothes of their very own parents who had perished in the system before them!

Their stories are a profound and deeply shocking reminder of the power of evil that resides in the totalitarian state, that great scourge of our century.

I find it simply indefensible that such a regime be allowed to dictate our visa policy or any other policy for that matter. I would say to any who rationalize and proselytize about trade and future considerations and all the other arguments so familiar to the advocates of appeasement -- listen to the victims of the Chinese prison system -- people tortured for being Christians and then forced to make Christmas tree ornaments for export under some agreement with Micky Kantor -- and tell me how a policy of appeasement like preventing this trip to Cornell by President Lee encourages democracy and human rights in China.

You know I am reminded of the case, a little over a decade ago, of the Chinese tennis star, a young girl, Hu Na, I believe her

name was, who defected on tour here. And of course the State Department "mandarins" all went into a tizzy and insisted she must be returned. A reporter asked President Reagan about her case and he said he'd sooner adopt her himself than force her to go back. The reporter reminded the President that the State Department said she had to go back. President Reagan tipped his head in that familiar way and said: "Well they just don't get it."

Mr. Chairman, they still just don't get it -- and I will sit here and vote, and join you in voting, for every resolution and measure that comes before us to send the message to the White House, the State Department, and the Communist Chinese, that we in this Congress do not turn a blind eye to the depredation of the PRC regime, and that we stand squarely and proudly for the democratic government in Taipai and in solidarity with the victims of torture in the PRC.

Thank You.



BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 9999 05983 916 5

ISBN 0-16-047484-1



9 780160 474842

90000

